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GEN'L O. O. HOWARD'S

Personal Reminiscences of the War of the Rebellion.

SIEGE OF KNOXVILLE.

Likeness to Massena's Defense of Genoa.

BURNSIDE'S FINE CONDUCT

Longstreet's Swift Rush from Chattanooga.

BY MAJ.-GEN. O. O. HOWARD, U. S. A.
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XIII.

Since my visit to Italy about a month ago my mind has been awakened to a new interest in Napoleon's campaign across the Alps during the Spring of 1800. I am struck with the likeness in general (of course, with a few contrasts) to that of Gen. Grant in Tennessee during the Autumn of 1863.

The siege of Knoxville, where Burnside held the chief command, corresponds to that of Genoa, defended by Napoleon's brave Massena. Massena's vigorous sorties against the different Austrian Generals were emulated at least in number and spirit by the short and sanguine combats which Burnside directed against the different Confederate commanders who were sent against him. From first to last he tried his hand with Generals Buckner, Frazer, Sam Jones and Longstreet; and finally he, like Massena within the extensive works of Genoa, was shut up within the forts and intrenchments which Gen. Poe had happily constructed for the protection of Knoxville.

Napoleon's grand and energetic campaign, which astonished the world, culminated in the celebrated

BATTLE OF MARENGO.

Grant's ended with the triple battle of Chattanooga. Napoleon's forces in fragments came from long distances, concentrated by dint of unusual hardship and exposure at the right time and place, met the Austrians, beat them in the preliminary encounters, and then at Marengo, as we have said, after a frightful, bloody day, gave them such a decisive blow that Italy was speedily relieved from their presence and the campaign closed.

So the different parts of Grant's army were brought together; Hooker, with Slocum's Corps and mine, came hundreds of miles from the East; Thomas with his already on the spot; Sherman with his scattered forces hastened from the Mississippi, and thus in a remarkably brief period a well organized, respected, confident body of men stood ready for action before the Confederate's strongest central position, defended by Bragg's hosts, as bold, active and hopeful as our own.

In the preliminary conflicts we, like the army of Italy, were successful; and, after the final struggle at Lookout and Mission Ridge, in which our outcast positions naturally as strong as any in Italy, Gen. Grant rejoined in the final victory of Chattanooga, a victory which, like that of Marengo, not only gave him the immediate battle, but extended promptly to the besieged at Knoxville, more than a hundred miles away from the decisive battle of the campaign.

The great majority of the people of Genoa looked to France for

DELIVERANCE FROM ABSOLUTE.

The French army, if successful, would set them free, would give them a constitutional government. The vigorous Massena appeared among them. The inhabitants received him with great satisfaction. The morning of the 7th of April, 1800, he made a bold movement against the large hosts, three times his strength, that hemmed him in on every side. "Precipitated into the tortuous valleys, the Austrians left in the hands of Massena 1,500 prisoners." When this General in the evening returned to the city of Genoa, having driven the grand army of the enemy beyond the sight of the people and brought in with his victorious troops the numerous prisoners, and among them one who was especially obnoxious, the Baron of Agnes, we are told that the joy of the patriotic population was extreme. They met Massena with acclamations. They prepared "brancards" (litters) to carry the wounded, brought stimulants and broths to nourish them, and everywhere contended for the honor of receiving them into their dwellings. And this loyalty was preserved during the long and terrible siege which Massena's army and the residents of the invested city were subjected. The people, who were reduced to a ration of soup (*soupe d'herbe*), suffered all the pangs of hunger and a horror of famine. The streets were strewn with the dying, and mothers, weakened by want, offered to public charity their children, whom they were no longer able to feed. Still, these people went to their graves without criminalizing Massena; they gave to his great heart continuous and remarkable devotion. Such are some of the pictures which Thiers gives us of the siege of Genoa.

Gen. Grant, as prompt as Napoleon, was more sympathetic than he, and did not, like him, suffer his lieutenant to reach the last extremity and be without succor till the inhabitants were dying in the streets. But notice the feeling of

THE PEOPLE OF KNOXVILLE.

and of East Tennessee just before and during that siege. Their loyal conduct should never be forgotten. "The loyal inhabitants of that region received the National troops with open arms as their deliverers; and Union refugees, who had been hiding in the mountains, and Union prisoners from that region who had escaped from the clutches of their captors and had been sheltered in caves and rocks, all rallied and staved, now flocked to their homes and joined in orations offered to Burnside and his followers at Knoxville and elsewhere." (See *Lookout*.) In a footnote below the above there are given us other pictures. "Everywhere," wrote an eye witness, "the people flocked to the roadsides, and, with cheers and wildest demonstrations of welcome, saluted the flag of the Republic and the men who had borne it in triumph to the very heart of the Confederacy. Old men wept at the sight, which they had waited for through months of suffering; children, even, hailed with joy the sign of deliverance. Nobly have these persecuted people stood by their faith,

and all loyal men will rejoice with them in their rescue at last from the clutch of the destroyer."

"They were so glad to see Union soldiers," wrote another, "that they cooked everything they had and gave it freely, not asking pay, and apparently not thinking of it. Women stood by the roadside with pails of water, and displayed Union flags. The wonder was where all the Stars and Stripes came from."

I have always borne testimony to the same effect. These good people were

TRUE TO THE UNION when it cost them much to be so. They met us with sympathy and joy. When our soldiers marched thither after the battles near Chattanooga and the pursuit of Bragg as far as Graysville, they were much wearied and their clothing was in bad condition; some had bleeding feet and no shoes. I have seen East Tennessee citizens, meeting such, sit down upon the ground, pull off their shoes, and give them to the destitute soldiers. Comrades will well remember how glad it made us to meet such a warm reception as we did from men, women, and children.

I have referred to the great heart of Massena. For the sake of great results Napoleon allowed him to wait there till starvation compelled him to make terms with the Austrians. From the beginning to the end of that famous siege he displayed the noblest qualities. It is evident that his military judgment was not equal to that of Napoleon, and critics find many flaws in his methods before the siege began and condemn his conduct after he had escaped from Genoa with a remnant—all that were alive—of his army.

Let us look at our Burnside. There was always something strange about him, and our criticism has been free. McClellan thought that with such a heart as he had he would not go far astray. Mr. Lincoln evidently thought so too. After the Fredericksburg defeat he gave place to Gen. Hooker, yet he was not suffered to go into retirement, but was again trusted with an important command, the Department of the Ohio, which it was hoped would reach forward across the Cumberland range of mountains and secure East Tennessee. Burnside was assigned to that Department in March, 1863. Still, somehow, by the curious policy of Gen. Halleck or the War Department, the Ninth Corps, in which Burnside specially relied, was suddenly taken from him and sent to the Mississippi. It was long before it returned. The troops in his Department were few and scattered. He, however, organized them as well as it could be done, and when it appeared above measure necessary to co-operate with the Army of the Cumberland, which was advancing southward on a line farther west, Burnside did not hesitate to take the field, even before the return of his corps. His prompt advance into East Tennessee across a range of mountains, his defeat of the enemy in nearly every engagement, his capture of Frazer's entire force at Cumberland Gap; his occupancy of the East Tennessee valleys, speeding Buckner beyond his limits, and his conduct of the subsequent defense of that region, ending in his success at Knoxville, shows not only loyalty, vigor and enterprise, but good, thoughtful plans and the careful execution of them.

I like very much what a fragment of history says of Burnside. It puts him squarely alongside of Massena: "During the dark days of the siege his bearing towards the citizens and his soldiers in kind, generous and humane, won for him the profound respect of all, even the most rebellious." He visited the families, he cheered the exiles, he distributed confidence and courage to others. These are good things to do when one needs for himself alone measure friendship, hope, confidence and superabundant encouragement!

IT WAS A LITTLE REMARKABLE that Bragg, the Confederate General before Chattanooga, should detach Longstreet from his command and send him to seize Knoxville while Grant's forces were concentrating from different directions in his own front. The old Austrian General, M. de Moltke, in front of Napoleon's forces, which were coming together in the great valley of Italy, though slow to comprehend the designs of Napoleon, did not make such a mistake as he. He brought together all the strength he could muster, and in consequence he gave the French the terrible reception at Marengo. They (the French) were finally successful—thanks to Napoleon's gallant young General Desaix, who heard the cannon from afar and marched speedily to the field, just in time to give up his life, but also in time with his troops and others inspired by his example, to reach a lost field.

Longstreet's movements. After he left Bragg, Longstreet cleared the hundred miles between Chattanooga and the forces of Burnside very quickly. At a station called Philadelphia, on the railroad just south of Knoxville, he had a little success. He there assailed Col. Wolford, who had under him a mounted force of about 2,000 men—the 1st, 11th and 12th Ky. Cav. and the 45th Ohio M'd Inf. Wolford seemed to have had his forces divided, but he made a good running fight, retreating toward Loudon. Longstreet captured from Wolford some 300 prisoners, and from other garrisons secured 350 more, before reaching the confidence of the Holston and the Tennessee.

Longstreet, still pushing northward, crossed the Tennessee successfully a few miles below that confidence and threatened the right of Burnside, who had now come with his own Ninth Corps as far as Loudon Station to meet him and, if possible, dispute his crossing. Now that Longstreet kept pushing before his right and had sent his cavalry (Forrest's and Wheeler's combined) upon the eastern side of the Holston beyond Burnside's left flank, there was no alternative but to fall back as quickly as practicable, bringing together his guards and garrisons as he retreated, and so increase his force as much as possible before giving battle. Fortunately for Burnside, the garrison of Knoxville, under Gen. W. P. Sanders, a brave and resolute man, was able to resist Forrest and Wheeler and keep the works of Knoxville for his occupancy.

BATTLE AT CAMPBELL'S STATION. But in the retreat of the main column the Confederates came on so fast that to save his trains and supplies Burnside was compelled to give battle. He did so the 6th of November. The engagement was a severe one and continued into the night. It is named the battle of Campbell's Station. Here it was that Lieut. P. M. Holmes (a son of Oliver Wendell Holmes) was slain. The losses were about equal,—between three and four hundred on each side,—

but Longstreet's attacks were all successfully repulsed and the check was sufficient to allow Burnside to get to Knoxville in safety.

DEATH OF GEN. SANDERS. Longstreet was soon close at hand. He attacked Gen. Sanders, who held a prominent advanced position near the Holston. In that assault Sanders' four regiments—the 12th Ill., 45th Ohio, 3d Mich., and 12th Ky.—suffered a heavy loss, and not a small part of it was the death of their leader, General Sanders, and secured a great advantage here. He established his headquarters at that prominent lookout, not far from Dr. Armstrong's house, and began to draw his lines more and more closely around the protecting works.

Burnside, as I have said, owing to his able Chief of Engineers, Gen. Poe, had a well-planned system of defensive forts and intrenchments. Intense energy was displayed in constructing and putting them in order. Longstreet on the 25th of November made another attempt to shorten his lines, like that which gave him the first advantage and resulted in the death of Gen. Sanders. Though our men fought hard, nevertheless, in this combat gained a hill on the left bank of the Holston, which commanded Fort Sanders and considerable ground nearer to Knoxville. From that point the batteries of the enemy had a plunging and raking fire along a part of the Union line, which it was difficult to stand. Gen. Burnside had never anticipated a siege, and had but few provisions on hand when Longstreet completed his investment. The Confederate General had received considerable reinforcement. At least four different detachments under Gen. Carter, Jackson, Williams, and Sam. Jones had come to him. However, Burnside was yet able to procure some supplies by holding a crossing of the Holston—a pontoon bridge. Every kind of expedient was resorted to to break up that bridge; trees and logs were sent down the river, but Gen. Poe had all such things promptly caught and "boomed" in a proper manner, and the bridge was desperately and successfully defended.

Now, the news of our victory at Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge came to both Longstreet and Burnside. It showed the former that what he did he must do quickly; that it was now useless to expect to starve Burnside's people into a surrender, and that his only hope was to make a sudden and a desperate assault upon Burnside's most vulnerable point. Longstreet tried a night attack upon Fort Sanders. The night was favorable from its intense darkness, but the fort was bastioned, and its front completely prepared for a thorough defense. Wires were stretched near the ground and abatis used wherever advantageous. The little fort, under command of Gen. Farnsworth, was manned with ten pieces of artillery, two regiments of infantry and a company of another. Lieut. Benjamin was the artillery chief, and where could one find a better? Longstreet succeeded that night in driving in the outer lines and in capturing the advance rifle-pits. About dawn he began again by a brisk cannonade from his several selected positions favorable to his artillery. He organized his attack similar to that of his subordinate commander (Gen. Pickett) at Gettysburg. Three brigades made the assault and two more guarded the flank of the assaulting column. But it did not succeed. The men were stopped by the abatis, entangled and tripped up by the heavy wires, and mowed down by Benjamin's artillery and Farnsworth's infantry. Some reached the ditch. One Confederate officer (Col. McKelroy) gained the parapet with his flag only to be slain. Pollard, the Confederate historian, says: "In comparatively an instant of time we lost 700 men in killed, wounded and prisoners." The fort could not be taken. Longstreet's brigades were successfully resisted and their remnants drew off.

When this assault occurred Gen. Sherman was pressing forward in three columns as fast as he could to help Burnside. Four days later his cavalry was at Knoxville.

A single paragraph from a former account which I have penned will give a view of the part my command played in this campaign: "With a few wagons, hardly any tents (just enough for the series), no bridge trains, scarcely any munitions, wearied with three days' fighting and two days' vigorous pursuit (of Bragg), my corps never grumbled. We marched to Louisville, within one day's march of Knoxville, the troops resting a day while several of our officers, myself included, accompanied Sherman to congratulate Burnside that he had taken the city. He had been quickened in his steps Virginia-ward by our near approach." In this campaign Burnside displayed the grand qualities of Massena, and, owing to the Napoleonic promptitude of Grant, was able to close out the siege of the city committed to his defense without Massena's chagrin.

[To be continued.]

ENDYMION.

[By H. W. Longfellow.]

The rising moon had hid the stars;
Her level rays, like golden bars,
Laid on the landscape green,
And shadows lay between.

And silver white the river gleams,
As if Diana, in her dreams,
Had dropped her silver bow
Upon the meadows low.

On such a tranquil night as this,
She walks Endymion with a kiss,
When, sleeping in the grove,
He dreamed not of her love.

Like Dian's kiss, unasked, unsought,
Love gives itself, but is not bought;
No voice, no sound betrays
His dream, his passion, gaze.

It comes—the beautiful, the free,
The crown of all humanity—
In silence and alone
To seek the elected one.

It lifts the brows, whose shadows deep
Are life's oblivion, the soul's sleep,
And kisses the closed eyes
Of him, who slumbering lies.

O weary hearts! O slumbering eyes!
O drooping souls, whose destinies
Are fraught with fear and pain,
Ye shall be loved again!

No one is so secured by fate,
No one so utterly desolate,
But some heart, though unknown,
Responds unto his own.

Responds,—as if with unseen wings,
An angel touched his quivering strings;
And whispers in his song,
"Where hast thou stayed so long?"

Whereunto is money good?
Who has it not wants hardship;
Who has it not wants trouble and care,
Who has it not had his despair.

THE BEST MEDICINE.
Joy and benevolence and repose
Blame the door on the Doctor's nose.

SAVING THE NATION.

The Slaughter Among the Cedars on Stone's River.

CRUSHING MCCOOK.

Every Body Unready on the Right Flank.

BATTERIES UNHORSED.

Brigade Commanders Away From Their Commands.

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XIV.

To the Boys and Girls of the United States:

Out from the cedar grove streamed a mass of men—soldiers, teamsters, negroes—all in confusion, moving north towards the Nashville turnpike. It was the first information that Gen. Rosecrans received—that the Right Wing had been routed. Before 8 o'clock an aid from Gen. McCook had informed him that the Right Wing was hard pressed and needed assistance, but McCook had not informed him that William's Brigade had been routed and that officer captured; that the whole of Davis's Division had been driven in, and that the Right Wing had crumbled to pieces. It was hardly 9 o'clock, and defeat stared Rosecrans in the face.

THE SITUATION. At that moment Van Cleve's Division of Crittenden's command was forming in line of battle east of the river, and Wood's Division was marching down to the river bank to join Van Cleve. On the right the whole of Davis's Division had been driven in, and the Right Wing had crumbled to pieces. It was hardly 9 o'clock, and defeat stared Rosecrans in the face.

Gen. Cheatham has discovered that the men in front of him have the quality of staying; that to drive them he must attack with an overwhelming force. He masses his artillery, planting his batteries of Napoleon guns by the brick-kiln south of Mr. Harding's house. The Union batteries reply. The artillery fire on the part of Cheatham is the prelude to a grand movement of Manigault's, Vaughn's, Maney's and Wood's Brigades, which advance through a dense cedar thicket to be smitten with canister from double-shotted cannon and by a fearful volley from Robert's men. The Union batteries hold their ground so stubbornly and the artillery fire is so destructive that the Confederates recoil. It is reported that Gen. Cheatham's curses were loud and deep when he saw the troops fall back. He called upon Anderson's Brigade of Mississippians and with this reinforcement again urged on the men to be foiled again.

"The ground must be held," shouted Sheridan, riding the line. The troops responded with a cheer. Sheridan rode to Gen. Thomas and asked for help, but Thomas could not take a regiment from his own line without endangering it, as we shall see. Sheridan has fired away all his ammunition. Aids are riding over the field in the rear in search of the supply train, but cannot find it. Houghtaling and Hoesbeck have nearly their last round. Since the beginning of the battle Houghtaling alone has fired nearly 1,000 rounds. Most of his horses have been shot. Sheridan knows that a critical moment is at hand, for he sees Cheatham preparing to strike another blow. Through the thicket they come once more, charging upon Houghtaling's battery, which can make no reply. The pieces which were so stoutly held by the men are now dumb. Houghtaling cannot make them speak after this critical moment—cannot even take them away, for his horses are all mangled and helpless.

Robertson, who has been ordered to ride along the turnpike, is shouted to the men "Give us ammunition," is the cry as the troops fall back, followed by the Confederates. Back beyond the turnpike moves the line. Cheatham's army is now in a position to strike another blow. Through the thicket they come once more, charging upon Houghtaling's battery, which can make no reply. The pieces which were so stoutly held by the men are now dumb. Houghtaling cannot make them speak after this critical moment—cannot even take them away, for his horses are all mangled and helpless.

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Sill's front line has fired away all its ammunition, and he orders the regiments to the rear.

ROBERTS'S ATTACK. Nearly all the fighting has been in the cedar woods, but the ground occupied by Robert's Brigade of Sheridan's Division is in the open, along a road leading from the house of Mr. Harding to the Wilkinson pike.

It is hard for the brave men who spiked the guns of the Confederate batteries at Island No. 10 to see the Right Wing crumbling piecemeal. He asks permission of Sheridan to charge bayonets. He has great faith in his men—the 22d, 27th, 42d, and 51st Ill. "Yes, give them the bayonet," is the response of Sheridan.

The 28th Ill. and 21st Mich. are in his way, behind a fence. "Throw down the fence and let me pass over you,"

The fence tumbles to the ground. "Don't fire a shot. Drive them with the bayonet."

Gen. Roberts rides along the line swinging his cap. The air is thick with bullets aimed at him, but he heeds them not. "Charge!" His voice rings out clear and distinct. With a hurrah the line of glittering steel sweeps on. The momentum of such a body of men is terrible. The Confederates know it and feel it. They fire a volley, but it does not check the advancing wave. In vain the efforts of the officers to steady the wavering Confederate line. Before the wave reaches them the Confederates flee across the fields to the shelter of the woods.

The Confederates have been driven, but Sheridan cannot hold his ground. Cleburne and McCook are so far round that he must choose a new position. The regiments fall back into the new alignment as steadily as on parade. Hoesbeck and Houghtaling and Bush with their batteries are placed in new positions.

Wood's (Confederate) Brigade advances, but is hurled back, and for a while all is silent along the line.

CHEATHAM'S ADVANCE. Gen. Cheatham has discovered that the men in front of him have the quality of staying; that to drive them he must attack with an overwhelming force. He masses his artillery, planting his batteries of Napoleon guns by the brick-kiln south of Mr. Harding's house. The Union batteries reply. The artillery fire on the part of Cheatham is the prelude to a grand movement of Manigault's, Vaughn's, Maney's and Wood's Brigades, which advance through a dense cedar thicket to be smitten with canister from double-shotted cannon and by a fearful volley from Robert's men. The Union batteries hold their ground so stubbornly and the artillery fire is so destructive that the Confederates recoil. It is reported that Gen. Cheatham's curses were loud and deep when he saw the troops fall back. He called upon Anderson's Brigade of Mississippians and with this reinforcement again urged on the men to be foiled again.

"The ground must be held," shouted Sheridan, riding the line. The troops responded with a cheer. Sheridan rode to Gen. Thomas and asked for help, but Thomas could not take a regiment from his own line without endangering it, as we shall see. Sheridan has fired away all his ammunition. Aids are riding over the field in the rear in search of the supply train, but cannot find it. Houghtaling and Hoesbeck have nearly their last round. Since the beginning of the battle Houghtaling alone has fired nearly 1,000 rounds. Most of his horses have been shot. Sheridan knows that a critical moment is at hand, for he sees Cheatham preparing to strike another blow. Through the thicket they come once more, charging upon Houghtaling's battery, which can make no reply. The pieces which were so stoutly held by the men are now dumb. Houghtaling cannot make them speak after this critical moment—cannot even take them away, for his horses are all mangled and helpless.

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